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January 20, 1968

EUK - Mr. Fay D. Kohler

GER - M. J. Hillenbrand

Revival of Ad Hoc Working Group

At the meeting of the Ad Hoc Working Group scheduled for January 21, you might wish to begin by reviewing the various difficulties we have been experiencing in setting up agreed procedures for the summit preparatory work. You might also wish to review the schedule of events for the next busy four or five months as it seems to be shaping up (schedule attached).

Thereafter, you might wish to discuss the preparatory work to be done on Germany and Berlin somewhat along the following lines:

1. It seems likely that the preparatory work on Germany and Berlin will proceed slowly at the outset. The first meeting of the four-power Working Group is scheduled for January 25. In its initial stages at least this Working Group will be composed essentially of representatives of the State Department and the British, French, and German embassies here in Washington. Only at a later stage will the Governments apparently send experts here from the various capitals.

2. The U. S. position is still in a formative stage and there will be a certain advantage in seeing first what the other countries may have in the way of papers to table. The French have already indicated that they have prepared some papers, and we understand that the Germans are likewise working on one or two papers. Ambassador Gruenther has himself written a memorandum on the tactics to be followed by the Western Powers at the Summit which is now being reviewed by the German Foreign Office. The British will apparently continue to hold back, as they did before the Western Summit in Paris, and refrain from tabling any papers at least during the early stages.

3. As during the preparatory period prior to the Geneva Conference, we hope to use the present informal body as a means for exchanging views and information within the U. S. Government on Germany and Berlin.

4. Certain ambiguities have persisted as to the precise extent and content of the agreements on Berlin reached by the heads of Governments during their December meeting in Paris. We are considering an approach to the President to obtain

clarification

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clarification of his views as a guide to further discussion of the U. S. position.

5. As far as revision of the Western Peace Plan is concerned, there appears to be little realistic prospect at this point of obtaining agreement on anything significantly new in the political portions. However, some suggestions have been made that the western Powers should consider sweetening their Geneva proposals with certain all-German features, and we are giving thought to this. As far as the European security provisions of the Peace Plan are concerned, we will presumably have to await the outcome of the preparatory work being done on our disarmament position in the five-power Working Group which likewise begins its sessions on January 25.

6. Although it seems too early on our part to attempt to develop a comprehensive tactics paper for the Summit, there are certain tactical initiatives which the four-power Working Group might consider at a fairly early stage. One of these is a proposal for a plebiscite to be held in East and West Germany as well as Berlin on whether the German people desire to proceed with the signing of a peace treaty with the two Germanies (Soviet style) or to sign such a treaty only with a reunited Germany (Western style). (You might wish to distribute to the Ad Hoc Group copies of the proposal which has been prepared by the Department on such a possible plebiscite.)

7. You might note that we are giving consideration to some method of informing the Germans more in detail about our contingency plans. We are inclined to believe that the possibility of failure to arrive at an agreement on Berlin with the Soviets and their subsequent signing of a peace treaty with the GDR should be considered as, in one sense, a possible course of action which should be evaluated as to its implications and consequences along with other possible Western courses of action.

8. It might also be appropriate to note that, in developing the Western position and tactics, it is of course logical to begin with an assessment of Soviet intentions. Considerable work was done on this during the preparatory period for the Western Summit meeting in Paris, and that portion of the Record of Washington Consultations which deals with this subject remains essentially valid. Soviet statements since then have confirmed the conclusions set forth therein. (A limited number of copies of the Intentions Section are available for distribution to the Ad Hoc Group for information.)

Attn:

Schedule of Meetings

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PRESENTLY AGREED SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

- A. Summit Preparatory Working Groups
 1. Disarmament. Five-power Ambassadorial level meeting January 16 with experts commencing work January 23 at Washington.
 2. Germany including Berlin. Quadrupartite Working Group begins January 25 at Washington. The first meeting would be chaired by Mr. Kohler but subsequent work would be in a group chaired by Mr. Hillebrand. When the work has progressed sufficiently Mr. Kohler's group would again meet. At this time, perhaps, experts might be sent from capitals. (It may be that some experts will come prior to this last stage.)
 3. East-West Relations. Tripartite Working Group with EATO observer meets February 1 at Paris to organize preparatory work, probably with two sub-groups (non-interference and aid to underdeveloped areas) at Paris and one (contacts) at London.
- B. Four Foreign Ministers at Washington April 13 and 14.
- C. CENTO at Tehran April 26-30.
- D. Four Foreign Ministers at Istanbul preferably late May 1 but in any event early May 2 prior to the NATO meeting. (Course may not arrive until May 2 - it has been suggested that he send a deputy since the meeting will have as its purpose only final agreement as to the participation of the four in the NATO Ministerial session.)
- E. NATO Ministerial Meeting at Istanbul May 2 and 3. (Lloyd will probably leave for London late May 3.)
- F. Four Western Heads of Government at Paris May 14 and 15.
- G. East-West Summit at Paris beginning May 16.
- H. NATO (Parliament Representatives) at Paris day after summit ends (preferably not later than May 24).
- I. NATO at Washington May 31-June 2 (provisional).

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